A

HYMN OF ZOROASTER

YASNA 31

TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTS

BY

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STUTTGART:
W. KOHLHAMMER.
1888.

To

K. F. Geldner

gratefully inscribed.

Yasna XXXI.

Introduction.

In selection Yasna 31 for a first attempt in contributing anything towards a better knowledge of the Gâthâs, the choice has been governed not alone by the intrinsic value of the hymn, but also by the fact that in addition to the complete Gâthâ translations, this hymn is one which is most often commented on in parts, and has been specially treated in a brilliant manner by the masterly hand of Professor Roth.

Such being the case, and the foundations by frequent labor having been thus made firm, we can proceed to build further upon these; remodel at times the structure already erected; at times even, though with cautious judgment and judicious hand, tear down and rebuild portions which are found to be faulty; and in this way round off and contribute something more towards the complete whole. Thus it is with repeated Gâthâ translations. Moreover, at the present time, especially, may extra renderings of separate hymns be attempted, as we have now for a basis, in Professor Geldner's great work, a new edition of the Avesta texts.

Where science is making such rapid advances as it is in the interpretation of the Avesta, no one can claim for his work, in many points, more than a brief short-lived authority. Year by year as the knowledge of the Zoroastrian books goes forward with rapid strides we are constantly obliged to change our views, to abandon paths previously followed, as errors are discovered, and to be ever ready to seek out better ways or adopt those of others in advance of us. So it is in the rendering of the present hymn. Although the main outlines, as said, had been already made clear, still there were and are yet many points remaining in the dark. If, however, the translation here given shall possibly help to clear away any that were before obscure, or should hereafter in any way chance to aid in elucidating others, may it then be welcomed as an attempt to contribute to the solution of the great difficulties which at every step beset the way in each of the Gâthâs. May whatever be good in it, be accepted; what is faulty will, it is needless to say, be speedily detected, and, it is hoped, remedied. I shall be most ready to give up any of the views here maintained, if they be proved erroneous or as soon as better are found.

In the Avesta where so much is debatable, to be broad and liberal is most necessary. It is wiser to avoid being dogmatic—to acknowledge faults gladly when pointed out by others, and to seek to rectify them, advances science more than dogmatic positiveness which results in stagnation. It is by this liberal method that Avestan scholarship has made such significant advances. To me at least, this seems the right ground to hold; and yet this liberality

must not and will not be without a conservative check, as will be seen hereafter. It is, then, on this principle, and with the two words 'liberal and conservative' constantly in view, that the present paper is offered.

A word, now, more directly in regard to the method adopted in rendering this hymn. The method, as said, is in brief both liberal and conservative; nor will this sound paradoxical after what has been clearly stated above. It is far different from radical. In Avestan interpretation where such brilliant work has been done by the separate methods, there is a natural tendency to follow the one or the other, perhaps rather too exclusively; and thus each has possibly been somewhat excessively applied; yet in the same way each has rendered invaluable service. By the extreme Sanskrit and radical method or by extended linguistic researches; again, by bold conjectures and frequent alterations of the text, or on the other hand by a close following of the tradition, great results have been achieved. The former methods were in a measure a reaction against the last, which had certainly been overdone; but the time is at hand when we can again afford to be more conservative. In regard to the Sanskrit, the Avesta can hardly express sufficiently its thanks; the Veda has lent most freely to the interpretation of the Avesta, but it is time for the over-indebtedness to cease, or rather it should continue only as mutual and reciprocal. On this account I have tried as far as possible to explain the Gâthâs from the Gâthâs themselves, purposely avoiding, when possible, adding to the debt already owed to the Sanskrit.

VI

This leads now to speaking of the so-called 'tradition', the Pahlavi renderings and the Asiatic commentaries. The day has come or will soon come, I believe, for somewhat of a reaction in favor of more frequent appeal to the tradition—when one may be proud to quote the Pahlavi and other Oriental versions, instead of utterly disregarding or through our ignorance depreciating them. It was a reaction against the tradition which gave the admirable results that the Sanskrit has afforded, yet on the other hand it is high time to avoid the other extreme and we must look to it again for a critical check upon all our work. As to the Pahlavi, it is most sincerely to be regretted that the means for using it—full editions of the texts, etc.—are still so limited; there are as yet perhaps not more than three Occidental scholars in the field who can employ it in their interpretations to proper advantage, but to one name in particular in regard to this literature a lasting debt of gratitude is owed by all. I am sorry myself not to have been able to make better use of the Pahlavi, for to it, I believe, many concessions must be made.

One point further in reference to method, I wish to emphasize; it is the necessity of a deeper research than has sometimes been made, into the thought and the theology of the Gâthâs—their individuality. It is now undeniable, I think, that into the Avesta too many Vedic ideas have been imported. This has been not unnatural, it is true; but it cannot be denied that the Gâthâs have thus lost in character and individuality. Or on the other hand, too much has been explained as Indo-Germanic or Indo-Iranic which is really alone Iranic. As a check against

such faults, I emphasize the above point in method—the need of far more stress laid on the thought and individuality of the Gâthâs. This is destined, it seems, to yield the best of fruits, as is now shown by the new advances in interpretation made by Professor Geldner in 'Yasna 46' (Bezzenberger, Beiträge XIV. p. 1 seqq.—the proof sheets of which, with the manuscript of his 'Yasna 43' (Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXIX), he has most generously put at my disposal for use. In treating these two Gâthâs he has in his method emancipated himself from thinking excessively in the Vedic channels or from emphasizing too strongly linguistic interpretations; checking all this by a profounder research into the development of the thought, the ideas of Zoroaster and the religion founded by him. The results thus won and the new light thrown on many of the dark places in the Gâthâs, which had remained obscure owing to neglect of this point, will speak for themselves. In this and in other points in regard to the method, then, it is a pleasure to add that I follow in general the admirable example of Professor Geldner which he, my honored instructor, has now set in the two articles referred to.

February 1888.
HALLE A. S.
Germany.

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Abbreviations.

A.F. = Arische Forschungen. Von Chr. Bartholomae.

B.B. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen. Hsg. von A. Bezzenberger.

J.A.O.S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

K.Z. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. Hsg. von E. Kuhn u. a.

PW. = Sanskritwörterbuch. Von O. Böhtlingk und R. Roth.

S.B.E. = The Sacred Books of the East. Ed. by F. Max Müller.

Z.D.M.G. = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Outline of the Thought.

Zoroaster presents himself as the true prophet (1—2), reminds of the looked for New Order of Things (3) and invokes the aid of Heaven (4). He wishes a surety of the promised reward (5), the Kingdom of Ormazd (6). May Ormazd fulfill it, He has the might (7), He is the lord and judge (8). As He granted freedom of will in a measure for the cow (9), in whose case, however, the right path is chosen (10); so has He given free agency to man, His creature (11); but man wavers between the right und the wrong (12). Therefore he is watched by the divinities (13) and finally brought to account (14) and the wicked punished (15). How then shall man direct his actions? (16) Which religion shall he follow? (17) Not the Dregvant (18) but that of the true prophet (19), who will save from destruction the wicked that shall believe (20). May Ormazd give the reward for goodness (21). All this is clear to him who follows as the most helpful servant of the Lord (22).

Text.

(For the text transliterated see the Notes below, where each stanza is given in transcription, before being commented upon.)

1.

[illegible]
[illegible] [1]
[illegible]
[illegible] [2]
[illegible]
[illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] ∴

2.

[illegible]
[illegible] [1] [illegible] [2] [illegible]
[illegible] [3] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] ∴

1. 1) [illegible] Fl1; [illegible] Mf4. — 2) so also Mf4; [illegible] Fl1. — 3) so also Fl1. Mf4. — 4) so also Fl1; [illegible] Mf4.
2. 1) so also Fl1. Mf4. — 2) so also Fl1. Mf4. — 3) [illegible] Fl1. Mf4.

Translation.

(Words within parenthesis are supplied for the sense.)

1.

'Having in mind your doctrines (ye Gods),
we speak forth words heard not
by those who through the doctrines of the Druj (Satan)
destroy the beings of Asha (Righteousness),
but words which are most excellent for those
who devote their heart unto Mazda.

2.

'Since, then, owing to these (false doctrines),
the better path for the soul is not clear,
I am come unto you all
a judge—as Ahura Mazda knows—
between the two parties, that we may live
according to the law of Righteousness.

3.

ואמר יהוה אל משה עוד בא אל פרעה כי אני הכבדתי את לבו ואת לב עבדיו למען שתי אתותי אלה בקרבו׃ ולמען תספר באזני בנך ובן בנך את אשר התעללתי במצרים ואת אתותי אשר שמתי בם וידעתם כי אני יהוה׃ ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו כה אמר יהוה אלהי העברים עד מתי מאנת לענות מפני שלח את עמי ויעבדני׃ כי אם מאן אתה לשלח את עמי הנני מביא מחר ארבה בגבולך׃ וכסה את עין הארץ ולא יוכל לראות את הארץ ואכל את יתר הפלטה הנשארת לכם מן הברד ואכל את כל העץ הצמח לכם מן השדה׃ ומלאו בתיך ובתי כל עבדיך ובתי כל מצרים אשר לא ראו אבתיך ואבות אבתיך מיום היותם על האדמה עד היום הזה ויפן ויצא מעם פרעה׃

4.

ויאמרו עבדי פרעה אליו עד מתי יהיה זה לנו למוקש שלח את האנשים ויעבדו את יהוה אלהיהם הטרם תדע כי אבדה מצרים׃ ויושב את משה ואת אהרן אל פרעה ויאמר אליהם לכו עבדו את יהוה אלהיכם מי ומי ההלכים׃ ויאמר משה בנערינו ובזקנינו נלך בבנינו ובבנותינו בצאננו ובבקרנו נלך כי חג יהוה לנו׃ ויאמר אלהם יהי כן יהוה עמכם כאשר אשלח אתכם ואת טפכם ראו כי רעה נגד פניכם׃ לא כן לכו נא הגברים ועבדו את יהוה כי אתה אתם מבקשים ויגרש אתם מאת פני פרעה׃

5.

ויאמר יהוה אל משה נטה את ידך על ארץ מצרים בארבה ויעל על ארץ מצרים וירד כל ארבה גבול מצרים׃ כבד מאד לפנים לא היה כמהו אחריו ולא יהיה כן׃ ויכס את עין כל הארץ ותחשך הארץ ויאכל את כל עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי העץ אשר הותיר הברד ולא נותר כל ירק בעץ ובעשב השדה בכל ארץ מצרים׃ ויחפז פרעה לקרא למשה ולאהרן ויאמר חטאתי ליהוה אלהיכם ולכם׃ ועתה שא נא חטאתי אך הפעם ועתירו אל יהוה אלהיכם ויסר מעלי רק את המות הזה׃ ויצא מעם פרעה ויעתר אל יהוה׃ ויהפך יהוה רוח ים חזקה מאד ויסע את הארבה וידף אתו ים סוף לא נשאר ארבה אחד בכל גבול מצרים׃ ויחזק יהוה את לב פרעה ולא שלח את בני ישראל׃

3. 1) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 2) so also **Mf4**; פרעה **Fl1.** — 3) שתי אתותי **Fl1**; אתותי שמתי **Mf4.** — 4) so also **Fl1. Mf4.**

4. 1) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 2) במדבר **Fl1. Mf4.** — 3) so also **Fl1. Mf4.**

5. 1) ים־סוף **Fl1. Mf4.**

3.

'What joy Thou wilt give through Thy Spirit and Thy Fire,
the united pair—and through Asha promisest—
as Thy decree for the wise-in-heart,
this speak Thou unto us, that we may know it,
with the word of Thy mouth, O Mazda,
in order that I may convert all men living.

4.

'If Asha (Righteousness) be strong,
and the Ahura Mazdas too,
and also Ashi and Armaiti,
then through the Best Mind I will implore
for myself the mighty Power
by whose force we may overcome Satan.

5.

'This do Thou tell me, that I may discern it,
know it through Thy Good Mind and lay it to heart,
what ye through Asha will give me as the better lot,
in which my reward shall consist.
Aye those things, tell me, Ahura Mazda,
which shall not be or shall be.

6.

ولما رأى الملك ما نزل بهم من البلاء وما هم فيه من الشدة
وعلم أنه لا طاقة لهم بحرب العدو ولا قوة لهم على لقائه
أمر بالرحيل وأن يسيروا على طريق البر ويتركوا البحر
ويسيروا على الساحل فساروا على ذلك أياما

7.

ثم إن الملك أمر بالرحيل وأن يسيروا على طريق البحر
ويتركوا البر فساروا على ذلك أياما فبينما هم سائرون
إذ نظروا مركبا قد أقبل نحوهم فلما قرب منهم

8.

سألوهم عن خبرهم فقالوا لهم نحن تجار وقد
كنا في مركب فغرق وسلمنا الله تعالى على لوح
من ألواح المركب فنجونا عليه حتى وصلنا إليكم

6. 1) فسيتبعهم Fl1. Mf4.

7. 1) ساروا على Fl1; ساروا في Mf4. — 2) so also Fl1. Mf4. — 3) so also Fl1; فبينما Mf4.

8. 1) سألوهم Fl1. Mf4. — 2) فغرق Fl1; فغرقت Mf4. — 3) فسلمنا Fl1; فسلمنا Mf4.

6.

'The very best (reward) shall be his
who knowing it, can tell me aright
the word of Righteousness in reference to
the Eternal Welfare and Immortality;
yea (as reward) the Kingdom of Mazda
which by his Good Mind he increases for Him.

7.

'(Mazda) who in the beginning conceived the thought
to fill His heavenly realms with light—
He by His wisdom founder of Righteousness (the Law),
by which to keep up His Best Mind (in His people);
these blessed realms mayest Thou with Thy Spirit increase,
Thou, O Ahura Mazda, who art even until now (and forever)
unchanging.

8.

'Therefore in the beginning, O Mazda,
I conceived Thee in mind to be worthy of worship,
when I beheld Thee in mine eye,
as the father of the Good Mind,
the very founder of Asha, the Law of Righteousness,
the Lord amid the deeds of life.

9.

[Avestan script] [1]
[Avestan script] [2]
[Avestan script] [3] [Avestan script]
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script] [4] [Avestan script]
[Avestan script] ∴

10.

[Avestan script] [1] [Avestan script] [2]
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script] [3] [Avestan script] ∴
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script] [4] [Avestan script] ∴

11.

[Avestan script] [1] [Avestan script]
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script]
[Avestan script] [2]
[Avestan script] ∴ [3]

9. 1) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 2) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 3) [Avestan script] **Fl1. Mf4.** — 4) so also **Mf4**; [Avestan script] **Fl1.**

10. 1) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 2) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 3) [Avestan script] **Fl1. Mf4.** — 4) so also **Fl1. Mf4.**

11. 1) so also **Fl1.** — 2) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 3) so also **Fl1**; [Avestan script] **Mf4.**

9.

'Thine was Armaiti (genius of the earth),
Thine was the Wisdom of the Spirit, Geushtashan
(Creator of the cow), O Mazda Ahura,
when Thou for her (the cow) laidst open the way
either to leave the husbandman
or him who is not a husbandman.

10.

'Then of these two, (her maker) chose
for her the thrifty husbandman,
(and thereby) Ahura the righteous,
the promoter of the Good Mind.
The man who is not a husbandman, O Mazda,
shall enjoy, even though he strive for it, no good report.

11.

'Since Thou, O Mazda, in the beginning for us
our beings and consciences hast formed
and our intelligence through Thine Own mind,
since Thou madest life clothed with a body,
since Thou gavest us the works and words
whereby one freely may express his belief—

12.

∴ ཐུབ་པའི་ [1]སྐུ་ལས་ཀྱང་ [2]འོད་ཟེར་ [3]ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ [4]འཕྲོ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ།

13.

∴ [1]ཐུབ་པའི་སྐུ་ལས་ཀྱང་ [2]འོད་ཟེར་ [3]ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ [4]འཕྲོ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ།

14.

∴ [1]ཐུབ་པའི་སྐུ་ལས་ཀྱང་ [2]འོད་ཟེར་ [3]ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ [4]འཕྲོ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ།

12. 1) so also Fl1; ཐུབ་པའི Mf4. — 2) so also Mf4; སངས་རྒྱས་ Fl1. — 3) so also Fl1. Mf4. — 4) so also Fl1. Mf4.

13. 1) ཐུབ་པའམ་ Fl1. Mf4. — 2) ཁ་ཟེར Fl1. Mf4. — 3) ཁྱད་པར་ Fl1. Mf4. — 4) so also Fl1. Mf4.

14. 1) so also Fl1.Mf4.— 2) སངས་རྒྱས་ Fl1. Mf4.— 3) ཁ་ཟེར་ Fl1.Mf4.

12.

'So lifts up his voice (alike)
the false prophet and the true,
the foolish and the wise,
according to his heart and mind;
(but) Armaiti unceasingly
with Thy Spirit inquires wherever faults may be.

13.

'What open faults or secret ones, O Mazda,
she inquires into in her search,
or when on the other hand for a slight sin
one seeks out for himself the greatest absolution—
all these in Thine eye, O Glancing One,
guardian with Righteousness Thou seest.

14.

'Therefore I ask Thee, O Ahura,
what is coming and is to come,—
what claims in the entries above
shall be made upon the righteous,
and what upon the wicked,
and how these will stand when the entries are balanced.

15.

[illegible] [1]

[illegible]

[illegible] [2] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [3]

16.

[illegible]

[illegible] [1] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

17.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [1]

[illegible] [2] [illegible]

[illegible]

15. 1) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 2) so also **Fl1. Mf4.** — 3) so also **Mf4**; [illegible] **Fl1.**

16. 1) so also **Fl1. Mf4.**

17. 1) so also **Fl1**; [illegible] **Mf4.** — 2) [illegible] **Fl1. Mf4.**

15.

'I ask Thee about this, what wrath awaits
him who advances the power
for the wicked of evil deeds, O Ahura,
who cannot find his livelihood
without harm to the flocks and men
of the righteous husbandman.

16.

'Yea about this I ask Thee, how and when
and by what deeds, he who in wisdom
devotes himself to advancing
through righteousness the power
of the house, the district and the land—
shall become even as Thou, O Ahura.

17.

'Which of the two—that which the righteous
or the wicked believes—is the greater?
Let the enlightened to the enlightened speak,
nor let the unenlightened deceive;
be Thou to us, O Ahura Mazda,
the revealer of Thy Good Mind.

18.

ﻭﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﻮﻓﻖ ﻟﻠﺼﻮﺍﺏ ﻭﺍﻟﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺟﻊ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺂﺏ ∴

ﻭﻛﺘﺒﻪ ﺍﻟﻌﺒﺪ ﺍﻟﻔﻘﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻰ ﺭﺑﻪ ﺍﻟﻐﻨﻲ ﺍﺣﻤﺪ ﺑﻦ ﻋﻠﻲ ﺍﻟﻤﺪﻋﻮ ﺑﺎﻟﺒﻨﺎ ﺍﻟﺴﺎﻋﺎﺗﻲ[4] ﻋﻔﺎ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻋﻨﻪ[3] ﺁﻣﻴﻦ

ﻭﻗﺪ ﻭﻗﻊ ﺍﻟﻔﺮﺍﻍ[2] ﻣﻦ ﺗﺒﻴﻴﺾ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻨﺴﺨﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺒﺎﺭﻛﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺜﺎﻣﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻌﺸﺮﻳﻦ ﻣﻦ ﺷﻬﺮ ﺭﺟﺐ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺟﺐ[1] ﺳﻨﺔ ﺍﺣﺪﻯ ﻭﺛﻤﺎﻧﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻒ ﻣﻦ ﻫﺠﺮﺓ ﻣﻦ ﻟﻪ ﺍﻟﻌﺰ ﻭﺍﻟﺸﺮﻑ

19.

ﻭﺍﻟﺤﻤﺪ ﻟﻠﻪ ﺍﻭﻻ ﻭﺁﺧﺮﺍ ﻭﺻﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺳﻴﺪﻧﺎ ﻣﺤﻤﺪ[1] ﻭﺁﻟﻪ ﻭﺻﺤﺒﻪ ﻭﺳﻠﻢ ∴

ﻭﻗﺪ ﻭﻗﻊ ﺍﻟﻔﺮﺍﻍ ﻣﻦ ﺗﺒﻴﻴﺾ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻨﺴﺨﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺒﺎﺭﻛﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺜﺎﻣﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻌﺸﺮﻳﻦ ﻣﻦ ﺷﻬﺮ ﺭﺟﺐ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺟﺐ ﺳﻨﺔ ﺍﺣﺪﻯ ﻭﺛﻤﺎﻧﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻒ ﻣﻦ ﻫﺠﺮﺓ ﻣﻦ ﻟﻪ ﺍﻟﻌﺰ ﻭﺍﻟﺸﺮﻑ

20.

ﻭﺻﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺳﻴﺪﻧﺎ ﻣﺤﻤﺪ ﻭﺁﻟﻪ ﻭﺻﺤﺒﻪ ﻭﺳﻠﻢ ∴

ﻭﻗﺪ ﻭﻗﻊ ﺍﻟﻔﺮﺍﻍ ﻣﻦ ﺗﺒﻴﻴﺾ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻨﺴﺨﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺒﺎﺭﻛﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺜﺎﻣﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻌﺸﺮﻳﻦ ﻣﻦ ﺷﻬﺮ ﺭﺟﺐ ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺟﺐ[1] ﺳﻨﺔ ﺍﺣﺪﻯ ﻭﺛﻤﺎﻧﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻟﻒ ﻣﻦ ﻫﺠﺮﺓ ﻣﻦ ﻟﻪ ﺍﻟﻌﺰ ﻭﺍﻟﺸﺮﻑ

18. 1) ﺍﻟﻤﻠﻬﻢ Fl1. Mf4.

19. 1) so also Mf4; ﻣﺤﻤﺪ Fl1. — 2) so also Fl1. Mf4.

20. 1) ﺍﻟﻤﺮﺟﺐ Fl1. Mf4. — 2) so also Mf4; ﺍﻟﻤﺼﻨﻒ Fl1. — 3) ﻋﻨﻪ Fl1. Mf4. — 4) so also Fl1; ﺍﻟﺴﺎﻋﺎﺗﻲ Mf4.

18.

'Let no one of you hearken unto
the words and commandments of the wicked,
for he (the wicked) will bring house,
village, district and land
into distress and death.
Therefore smite all such with the weapon!

19.

'(But) let each give ear to him who has conceived
what is Right, an enlightened healer of the world, O Ahura,
who will have power at will over the words
of his tongue—so that they will be verified
through Thy red Fire, O Mazda, in Thy good kingdom,
at the New Dispensation (Judgment) by Thy two ministers.

20.

'Whosoever comes over to the righteous,
for him hereafter will be spared
the long duration of misery and darkness,
the evil food and woeful words—
such is that life to which, O ye wicked,
your conscience through your own deeds will lead you.

21.

ﻣﺎﻟﻜﻢ ﻻ ﺗﺮﺟﻮﻥ ﷲ ﻭﻗﺎﺭﺍ ۝ ﻭﻗﺪ ﺧﻠﻘﻜﻢ ﺃﻃﻮﺍﺭﺍ ۝ ﺃﻟﻢ ﺗﺮﻭﺍ ﻛﻴﻒ ﺧﻠﻖ ﷲ ﺳﺒﻊ ﺳﻤﻮﺍﺕ ﻃﺒﺎﻗﺎ ۝ ﻭﺟﻌﻞ ﺍﻟﻘﻤﺮ ﻓﻴﻬﻦ ﻧﻮﺭﺍ ۝ ﻭﺟﻌﻞ ﺍﻟﺸﻤﺲ ﺳﺮﺍﺟﺎ ۝ ﻭﷲ ﺃﻧﺒﺘﻜﻢ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻧﺒﺎﺗﺎ ۝ ﺛﻢ ﻳﻌﻴﺪﻛﻢ ﻓﻴﻬﺎ ﻭﻳﺨﺮﺟﻜﻢ ﺇﺧﺮﺍﺟﺎ ۝ ﻭﷲ ﺟﻌﻞ ﻟﻜﻢ ﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﺑﺴﺎﻃﺎ ۝ ﻟﺘﺴﻠﻜﻮﺍ ﻣﻨﻬﺎ ﺳﺒﻼ ﻓﺠﺎﺟﺎ ۝

22.

ﻗﺎﻝ ﻧﻮﺡ ﺭﺏ ﺇﻧﻬﻢ ﻋﺼﻮﻧﻲ ﻭﺍﺗﺒﻌﻮﺍ ﻣﻦ ﻟﻢ ﻳﺰﺩﻩ ﻣﺎﻟﻪ ﻭﻭﻟﺪﻩ ﺇﻻ ﺧﺴﺎﺭﺍ ۝ ﻭﻣﻜﺮﻭﺍ ﻣﻜﺮﺍ ﻛﺒﺎﺭﺍ ۝ ﻭﻗﺎﻟﻮﺍ ﻻ ﺗﺬﺭﻥ ﺁﻟﻬﺘﻜﻢ ﻭﻻ ﺗﺬﺭﻥ ﻭﺩﺍ ﻭﻻ ﺳﻮﺍﻋﺎ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻐﻮﺙ ﻭﻳﻌﻮﻕ ﻭﻧﺴﺮﺍ ۝ ﻭﻗﺪ ﺃﺿﻠﻮﺍ ﻛﺜﻴﺮﺍ ۝ ﻭﻻ ﺗﺰﺩ ﺍﻟﻈﺎﻟﻤﻴﻦ ﺇﻻ ﺿﻼﻻ ۝

21. 1) ﻟﺘﺴﻠﻜﻮﺍ ﻣﻨﻬﺎ Fl1; ﻣﻨﻬﺎ ﻟﺘﺴﻠﻜﻮﺍ Mf4.

22. 1) ﻣﺎﻟﻪ Fl1; ﻣﺎﻟﻪ corrected to ﻣﺎﻟﻪ Mf4. — 2) so also Fl1; ﻭﻣﻜﺮﻭﺍ Mf4. — 3) so also Fl1. Mf4.

21.

'May Ahura Mazda (then),
out of His rich store grant
unity with Weal and Immortality,
with His Righteousness and Power,—
(aye) the full enjoyment of the Good Mind,
to him who is faithful to Him in word and deed.

22.

'Clear are these things to the wise
as to one confident in mind;
it is he that in word and deed
promotes Righteousness with the Good Power,
it is he, O Mazda, that will be
to Thee a most profitable servant.'

Transliteration.

The transliteration here employed has been adopted simply with reference to the types at present on hand; but thanks to the kindness of the publisher, Herr W. Kohlhammer, it will be possible hereafter, perhaps in another work, to use a more perfect transcription. The one temporarily employed is as follows:

ա	*a*	գ	*gh*	ն	*n*
ա	*â*	ց	*c*	ն	*ñ*
ի	*i*	ջ	*j*	մ	*m*
ի	*î*	ո	*t*	ն	*ṅ*
ու	*u*	ռ	*th*	ն	*ń*
ու	*û*	ս	*d*	ս	*s*
է	*e*	վ	*dh*	ո	
է	*è*	տ	*ṭ*	ո	*š*
ե	*é*	ր	*ṗ*	ո	
ը	*ê*	փ	*f*	շ	*ż*
ո	*o*	ք	*b*	ջ	*żh*
ո	*ô*	և	*ev*	ո	*h*
ա	*å*	ո	*y*	ղ	*ḥ*
ա	*ã*	յ		ղ	*ḥv*
գ	*k*	ռ	*r*	ռ	*št*
խ	*kh*	ս	*v*	ց	*g,h*
կ	*g*	ն			

Comments.

In addition to the complete Gâthâ translations, the Commentaries and Professor Roth's Yasna 31, cf. also the Pahlavi translation in Haug's and West's Essays, 3rd ed. p. 348 ff.

1.

tâ vè urvâtâ mareñtô
aguštâ vacâ sèng,hâmahî
aêibyô yôi urvâtâiš drûjô
ašahyâ gaêthå vîmereñcaitê
aṭcîṭ aêibyô vahištâ
yôi zarazdå aṅhen mazdâi.

vè:

the Pahlavi rendering *avo lekûm hôšmûrûm* 'recite to you', connects *vè* with *mareñtô* and refers it to the people who are present as listeners, but this is wrong; it really depends on *urvâtâ* as does *drûjô* in *urvâtâiš drûjô,* to which it is directly opposed, and refers to Mazda with his angels included, as often elsewhere. It is only necessary to cite the similar use of *khšmaibyâ* 'to you (ye gods)' in the opening words of Ys. **29**; cf. the Pahlavi. Further, Ys. **28**.2: *yè vå mazdâ ahurâ pairî-jasâi vohû manaṅhâ* 'that I may come to you Ahura Mazda through Thy Good Mind'. Again, Ys. **28**.3:

yè vå ašâ ufyânî manascâ vohû apaourvîm
mazdãmcâ ahurem yaêibyô khšathremcâ aghzhaonvamnem
varedaitî ârmaitiš â môi rafedhrâi zavèñg jasatâ

'that I may praise ye, O Asha and Vohu Mano as never before, and Ahura Mazda, and Armaiti who furthers for these the kingdom immortal; so may ye come to my call for help'. Instances might be multiplied. In § 2 below, however, *vå* is addressed to the assembled multitude.

urvâtâ:
is best rendered by 'doctrines', and should be connected only with √*var* 'choose, believe', cf. *vereñtê, fravarânê, varena,* etc.; the forms *vrâ, var* as *râ ar, prâ par,* etc. The formation is exactly the same as in Skt. *vrâta,* from which, however, it differs in meaning. The Pahlavi Commentary sees in *urvâtâ* a dual, but otherwise has the right idea and refers it to the teachings of the Avesta and Zend. In Ys. 34.8 *urvâtahyâ* is given in the Pahlavi by *dênô* 'religion belief', which answers exactly to the meaning for *urvâtâ* suggested above. The signification 'doctrines' thus found applies in all passages: Ys. 30.11 *hyaṭ tâ urvâtâ sašathâ yâ mazdå dadâṭ mašyåṅhô* 'if ye, O men, mark the doctrines which Mazda gave'. Also in Ys. 34.8 *thwahyâ mazdâ ãstâ urvâtahyâ* 'with persecution of Thy doctrine'. Further Y. 44.15

taṭ thwâ peresâ ereš môi vaocâ ahurâ
yézî ahyâ ašâ pôi maṭ khšayéhî—
hyaṭ hèm spâdâ anaocaṅhâ jamaêtê—
avâiš urvâtâiš yâ tû mazdâ dîderezhô
kuthrâ ayå kahmâi vananãm dadå

'this I ask Thee, tell it me truly—: if Thou with Asha hast power to ward him (the wicked) off from me—when two hostile hosts come together—in accordance with those doctrines which Thou wilt uphold. To which of the (two armies), and to whom wilt Thou give the victory?' See also the Pahlavi gloss on *urvâta* there; and for *pôi maṭ khšayéhi* cf. Bartholomae, *Arische Forschungen* II. 177.

Under the same head with our *urvâta* belongs also Ys. **46**.5 *urvâtôiš* 'creed, faith, doctrine, party'.

mareñtô:
see the comments on Ys. **55**.6 in *A. O. S. Proceedings,* October 1887. The meaning 'having in mind, holding, memorizing, known' is equally suitable in the parallel, Ys. **43**.14 *maṭ tâiš vîspâiš yôi tôi mãthrå mareñtî* 'with all those who have thy words in mind i. e. mark them'.

aguštâ:
'unheeded, hearkened not unto'; the idea—quite like the Biblical—is that of giving ear, and heeding the law, as in str. 18, 19 below, and Ys. **45**.1 *nû gušôdûm nû sraotâ* 'now give ear and heed'. So also Ys. **49**.7; **29**.8.

ašahyâ gaêthå:
about equivalent to the Biblical expression 'children of the Kingdom'; Asha is often used almost in the sense of the Kingdom of Heaven near at hand; the *ašahyâ gaêthå* are those who already on earth by their righteousness belong to this kingdom. The two bands, Ashavans and Dregvants in the Gâthâs, form a picture like that drawn in the parable of the tares, Matt. XIII.38—43, the Dregvants answering to 'the children of the wicked one'. Throughout the hymns of Zoroaster we see these two parties living together, but in constant strife, the wicked often prospering (Ys. **47**.5), for Error and Satan have narrowed the power of good; yet the happy time will come—at the Vîdâiti, see notes on vv. 3, 19 infra—when the wicked will get their deserts, the chaff be separated from the wheat, and the power of good supreme shall bring the righteous their reward. Thus Ys. **43**.16

astvaṭ ašem ḥyâṭ uštânâ aojôñg,hvaṭ
hvèñg-daresôi khšathrôi ḥyâṭ ârmaitiš
ašîm šyaothanâiš vohû daidîṭ manaṅhâ

'then shall Asha become incarnate, mighty in vital power, Armaiti shall be in the kingdom where the sun (ever) shines, and with the Good Mind will give the reward for deeds'. This verse would about correspond to the one which closes the parable of the tares.

vahištâ:
strongly antithetic to *aguštâ,* and echoes Ys. **30**.2 *sraotâ gèušâiš vahištâ* 'hear with your ears what is best'.

zarazdå:
as in Darmesteter's *Études Iraniennes,* II.122.

2.

yézi âiš nôiṭ urvânĉ
advå aibî-dereštâ vaḫyå
aṭ vå vîspèñg âyôi
yathâ ratûm ahurô vaĉdâ
mazdå ayå ãsayå
yâ ašâṭ hacâ jvâmahi.

yézî:
see Bartholomae, *A.F.* II.9.

âiš:
enclitic pron. from *a*-stem: a true instr. pl. related to dat. *aĉibyô* as *aspâiš* to *aspaêibyô.* It is mostly adverbial in its use, like Skt. *ênâ*; yet its real instrumental force can still be seen referring to a preceding substantive, as here to *urvâtâiš drûjô.* So also in Ys. **50**.10 *aṭ yâ varešâ yâcà pairî âiš šyaothanâ* 'then what actions I will do, and what actions (are done) before these'; i. e. *âiš* stands here as the regular pronoun and refers to *šyaothanâ.* Likewise Ys. **53**.8 *râmãmcâ âiš dadâtû šyéitibyô vîzhibyô* 'through these (good rulers *hukhšathrâiš*) also he shall give peace to the happy villages'. In the few other instances where

âiš occurs, the adverbial force, however, is perhaps predominant; 'by these (things)' = 'hereby, herewith'. By allowing that *âiš* in our passage refers to the preceding 'false doctrines', we win a closer and more logical connection between str. 1 and 2.

urvânê advå:
on the forms see Bartholomae, *Handbuch,* §§ 215, 218.

aibî-dereštâ:
lit. 'in sight', locative as Professor Roth has shown; see further Bartholomae, *A.F.* II.100.

vå vîspèñg:
here and in str. 3, *vîspèñg* is full of meaning—Zoroaster wishes that one and all should receive the blessed doctrines.

âyôi:
on the use of *i*+*â* see at str. 20 below; on the form, Bartholomae, *A.F.* II.75.

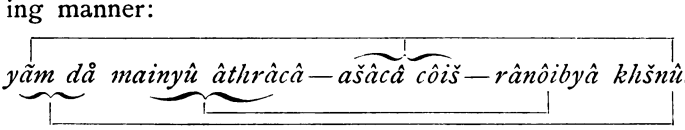
yathâ ratûm . . . ãsayå:
the idea of these words in connection with the thought contained in the whole verse, is that since the two parties—the right-believing Ashavans and the unbelieving Dregvants—exist side by side with opposite doctrines and teachings; and since thus the soul is often in darkness as to which is the better path *(advå vaḫyå)* to follow; therefore as such conflicting factions and views exist, Zoroaster declares that he comes forward—the judge, as Ahura knows, between the two—to teach how to live in the way of righteousness. —In construction we make *yathâ ratûm* one of the many instances of concise expression arising from the incorporation into the relative sentence. It is literally 'I come to you all as Mazda knows the Ratu between the two parties' i. e. *âyôi yathâ ratûm vaêda* = *âyôi ratuš yathâ vaêdâ.* Similar instances of attraction are to be found in Ys. 53.2;

54.1; **28**.3 *yaêibyô,* and elsewhere.—The Ratu being the chief, the spiritual guide or head, is the authority to whom as judge all questions were brought, as in later times in Kerman (see on Ys. **55**.1, *A. O. S. Proceedings,* Oct. 1887), each child at its confirmation was assigned not only its patron Yazata but also its Dastur to whom of course appeal was made in all important matters. This idea of a Ratu to apply to for decisions, is also found in Vd. **5**.25,26 *aokhtô ratuš* ... 'the Ratu being applied to'. Zoroaster, therefore, appears here as the spiritual head to decide between the two, almost in the Biblical sense of judge, in Judges XI.27. This explanation, referring *yathâ ratûm* to Zoroaster, wins special emphasis and additional meaning by comparing it with the Ahuna Vairya *yathâ ahû vairyô athâ ratuš ašâṭ hacâ;* further also Ys. **29**.6,8.

3.

yãm då mainyû âthrâcâ
ašâcâ côiš rânôibyâ khšnûtem
hyaṭ urvatem cazdôñ̊h,vadebyô
taṭ nè mazdâ vîdvanôi vaocâ
hizvâ thwahyâ å̊nhô
yâ jvañtô vîspèñg vâurayâ.

yãm ... rânôibyâ khšnûtem:
the construction of this line may be illustrated in the following manner:



The chief obscurity which lies in the dark *rânôibyâ* has been cleared away by Geldner in *B.B.* XIV.15 seqq. under Ys. **46**.7. He has there shown that the two *rânas, √râ, ar,* are not the two rubbing-sticks joined in kindling the fire, nor again the two opposing bands joined in battle, but

they are Ormazd's two allies joined in carrying out his will, or who help him in his final judgment of the good and bad. Of this pair working in unity, the Fire is always one in the Gâthâs, the other member may be different; in our passage it is the Holy Spirit. The pair *âtar* and *mainyû,* then, are Ormazd's instruments, his assistants.[1]

The two Rânas play an important part at the Vîdâiti,[2] the general judgment, as Geldner also has shown. This fact is clearly brought out in str. 19 below. Also in Ys. 47.6

tâ dâ speñtâ mainyû mazdâ ahurâ
âthrâ vaŋhâu vîdâitîm rânôibyâ
ârmatôiš debãzaŋhâ ašaḫyâcâ
hâ zî pourûš išeñtô vâurâitê

'therefore through the Holy Spirit, O Ahura and through the Fire—Thy two united Rânas—mayest Thou make the final judgment (Vîdâiti, lit. division) in Thy good kingdom with the help of Armaiti and Asha; for this (the Vîdâiti, the judgment near at hand, the doctrine of the division, the new dispensation) will convert many readily'. Compare also the Pahlavi gloss with its *nîrang i var.* Again in Ys. 43.12 read *rânôibyâ* with **Mf1** etc., thus: *yâ vî ašîš rânôibyâ savôi vîdâyâṭ* 'that through his Rânas he may distribute (lit. divide, √*dâ* + *vî* in *vîdâiti,* disponere) the rewards as a blessing'. Further still in Ys. 51.9 *yãm khšnûtem rânôibyâ dâ thwâ âthrâ sukhrâ mazdâ|ayaŋhâ khšustâ* 'what joy Thou wilt give through Thy two Rânas united—viz. Thy red fire, O Mazda, and Thy molten brass'. Here *ayaŋhâ khšustâ* is the molten brass as in Yt. 17.20

[1] Compare in the Old Testament, God's manifestations (to his people), made through the fiery pillar, his lightnings, his consuming flame, to say nothing of the cloven tongues. Cf. also Hebrews 1.7 'Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire'. Perhaps the idea of the judgment by the lake of fire should be compared.

[2] Cf. note on *ašahyâ gaêthâ* above, and on str. 19 infra.

tâpayéiti . . . ayôkhšustem, and is personified as an instrument of Mazda's which will punish the wicked, but the result will be joy to the good, i. e. *râšayéñhê dregvañtem savayô ašavanem;* this is exactly the idea of the Vîdâiti. It is not impossible that Zoroaster in this latter passage had in mind the ordeal,—the Vîdâiti would be merely an inquisition at which God with his ministers was the judge. Compare also the Pahlavi gloss *nîrang i var* at Ys. **47**.6.

The general idea of these ministers, Rânas, who assist Ahura in his judgment in his good kingdom—as Geldner has also noted—can be traced also in the later Avesta, although there it has assumed a more concrete form; the two are embodied as Mithra and Rashnu,[1] the general judgment answering to Vîdâiti is removed farther away in time, the special judgment directly after death playing the greater rôle, and it is at this that the two ministers appear, as at the Vîdâiti in the Gâthâs. Thus in Ys. **57**.2 we are told that Sraosha was the first to worship Ahura Mazda, the Amesha Spentas and the first to worship 'the overseer[2] and the judge who together pass judgment upon all creatures' (lit. the overseer and discrimator who discriminate), i. e. the two who distinguish the good from the bad at the Cinvat Bridge, to which the evil as well as the just must come. Cf. further Vd. **19**.29 seqq.; Yt. **24**.27 etc. In speaking of the two *pâyû thwôreštâra* Ys. **57**.2, the Pahlavi directly mentions Mithra. This interpretation of *râna* given above will explain also *rèna* in Vd. 7.52 *dva mainyû rèna,* the two united spirits should there likewise be referred to Mithra and Rashnu whose judgment is at once unanimous. We thus see that the later Avesta has preserved the idea but specialized and narrowed it.

[1] Cf. also later, Maînôg-î Khirad 2.116; and Sad Dar, 1.4, West *S.B.E.* XXIV. pp. 18, 258. See note on *išudô* str. 14 below.

[2] This is evidently Mithra, cf. the Mihir Yasht; the other of course is Rashnu. See Geldner, *B.B.* XIV.16.

ašâ:
is instrumental, probably of means, just as *mainyû* and *âthrâ*. It might, however, be accompaniment.

urvatem:
this is ἅπ. λεγ. but must be the Skt. *vratá,* and it refers to what Mazda's will has alloted for the wise who follow his law. The Pahlavi sees no difference between this word and *urvâtâ* above.

cazdôñ̊h,vadebyô:
is rendered in the Pahlavi by *vijârḍâr* 'those who discern, decide' i. e. those who have understanding, the wise who choose aright and become believers of the good religion, cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman,* p. 28 n.; Spiegel, *Commentar* and Mills' translation ad loc.

taṭ . . . vîdvanôi vaocâ:
this appeal for enlightenment is repeated in str. 5.

vâurayâ:
see Bartholomae in *B.B.* XIII.79; and for the thought cf. Ys. 46.6 *hâ zî pourûš vâurâitê* cited above; and Ys. 28.5 *anâ mãthrâ mazištem vâurôimaidî khrafstrâ hizvâ* 'through this Word with our tongue we will make the Khrafstras believe on the Most Highest'.[1] Zoroaster's religion was active and vigorous, seeking and gaining converts, as we see from many passages in the Gâthâs, cf. note on str. 20 below.

4.

yadâ ašem zevîm
aṅhen mazdâscâ ahurâṅhô
ašicâ ârmaitî
vahištâ išasâ manaṅhâ
maibyô khšathrem aojôñg,hvaṭ
yéhyâ veredâ vanaêmâ drujem.

[1] For the construction see Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax* § 49.

yadâ ašem zevîm . . :
this verse has been handled by Bartholomae, *B.B.* XIII.89; and Geldner, *B.B.* XIV.22, under Ys. **46**.9. In *zevîm* we have the Gâthâ form of the adj. *zaoya* 'strong, mighty'. As for construction—*zevîm* (agreeing directly with *ašem* alone) must be supplied with *mazdåscâ ahurånhô,* just as *anhen* on the other hand must be thought of equally with *ašem.*

mazdåscâ ahurånhô:
the plural[1] is appellative in force, and is to be referred to Ahura with the other divinities who were about him equally included, foremost among whom here as ever is Asha. The concept was later expressed under the Amesha Spentas; here even more than that is meant, it is the heavenly host —the name of the chief god Ahura Mazda predominating and including in itself all others. Similarly we have the plural Rudras in the Rig Veda designating Rudra and the Maruts. The same explanation holds in Ys. **30**.9.[2]

ašicâ ârmaitî:
on the dual see Bartholomae in *B.B.* X.267. It should be noted that in Yt. **17**.16, Ashi is the daughter of Armaiti.

veredâ:
'growth, increase, force, might'. At Vd. **20**.8, we find our sentence worked over in slightly different form.

5.

taṭ môi vîcidyâi vaocâ
hyaṭ môi ašâ dâtâ vahyô

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[1] See further Justi s. v. *ahura*; Hübschmann, *Zoroastrisches Lied,* p. 71; Roth, ad loc.; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman,* p. 41; Bartholomae, *B.B.* XIII. 89; Mills, *S.B.E.* XXXI. p. 34, 37, 140.

[2] A plural of majesty is not however out of the question; some instances of the pronouns apparently, would seem to support it.

vîduyê vohû manaṅhâ
mèñcâ daidyâi yéhyâ mâ erešiš
tâcîṭ mazdâ ahurâ
yâ nôiṭ vâ aṅhaṭ aṅhaitî vâ.

dâtâ vahyô:
to be rendered as in Ys. 53.9 *dâhî drigaovê vahyô.* Asha here as elsewhere is Ormazd's instrument.

mèñcâ daidyâi:
see Bartholomae, *B.B.* XIII.80. In construction the three infinitives of the sentence are parallel; *hyaṭ—vahyô* is to be connected with *taṭ,* and is explained by *yéhyâ mâ erešiš;* the whole then being elaborated in *tâcîṭ,* etc.

yéhyâ mâ erešiš:
these three words have ever been a source of difficulty. We are hardly entitled to alter *mâ erešiš* into *mârešiš,* nor again do I consider *sma ṛšiḥ* (Bartholomae, *A.F.* III:58) correct. The following view, however, I think may be suggested. In *erešiš* we have, I believe, a verbal substantive **ṛ-si* < *ar,* = 'that which is allotted, comes as fortune, reward', cf. *erenâvi, erenâum,* Ys. 9.3,22. For the formation cf. Skt. *dhâ-si, kuk-ši;* and for the question of accent cf. *erešva,* Skt. *ṛšvá; erezu,* Skt. *ṛjú.* Then *mâ* is no longer Skt. *sma;* it is none other than the same person denoted by *môi,* thrice repeated, and depends, in the accusative, upon the verbal force of *erešiš,* as does *dãmiš ašem* str. 7, or the two pronouns *mâ* and *tèm,* directly to be cited. In this manner the chief difficulty is removed, the rest is easy. Our clause *yéhyâ mâ erešiš* (sc. *aṅhaṭ*) explains *hyaṭ môi dâtâ vahyô* 'tell me what is the better lot which ye hold out to me, from which my reward shall come' (lit. 'shall be', in which my reward shall consist). Exactly parallel in construction—gen., acc., pron. and all—is Ys. 32.16 = Ys. 48.12 *yéhyâ mâ aithîšcîṭ dvaêthâ* 'from whom my

destruction is threatening'; and likewise Ys. **44**.19 *kâ tèm ahyâ maêniš aṅhaṭ* 'what shall be his (*tèm,* the deceiver's) punishment from him' (*ahyâ,* the deceived, genitive subjective; cf. also note on *maêniš* str. 15). In Ys. **40**.4, moreover, *erešyâ* may be adv. 'according to our desire of the (future) reward'—cf. for similar advbl. usage, Geldner, *Studien* I.21. In both instances, therefore, the word would denote the future reward, just as so constantly does the kindred *ašiš.* The strophe certainly thus wins an admirable sense.

yâ nôiṭ . . aṅhaitî vâ:
this contains no thought of obligation; the question, as in str. 14 *yâ zî âitî jèng,haticâ,* is in regard to the hereafter. Perhaps str. 6 *ahmâi aṅhaṭ* etc. may be in spirit at least a partial answer. There is confidence that the true prophet will be assured of reward; see Ys. **43**.1—3, str. 3 especially.

6.

ahmâi aṅhaṭ vahištem
yè môi vîdvå vaocâṭ haithîm
mãthrem yim haurvatâtô
ašahyâ ameretâtascâ
mazdâi avaṭ khšathrem
hyaṭ hôi vohû vakhšaṭ manaṅhâ.

vîdvå:
as in str. 12, 17 and elsewhere in the Gâthâs, pregnant with meaning; cf. also Hübschmann, *Zoroastrisches Lied,* p. 33. Who is meant by the *vîdvå* whose preaching shall merit the heavenly kingdom *(khšathrem)* is as often not hard to discern. It is the modesty of confidence that includes himself, *môi,* among the seekers after the Word, or uses *nå* Ys. **43**.3; see note above, str. 5 *aṅhaitî.*

māthrem . . ašahyâ ameretâtascâ:
a double construction of the genitive after *māthrem* 'the word of Asha (possessive) of (i. e. in respect of, relating to, objective) Haurvatat and Ameretat'. With this interpretation 'Asha's Māthra', should be connected, I think, Ys. **44**.17 thus:

sarôi bûzhdyâi haurvâtâ ameretâtâ
avâ māthrâ yè râthemô ašâṭ hacâ

'to enjoy the participation in Haurvatat and Ameretat according to that word which rests with Asha'.[1] The use of *māthra* in the Avesta corresponds, in all respects, precisely to our 'word' with its various shades of meaning—'divine law, scripture, promise, command'—in the Bible.

mazdâi ˀavaṭ khšathrem:
'the Kingdom of Heaven', as often. It explains *vahištem;* consequently the punctuation after *ameretâtascâ* should be light. In *mazdâi,* moreover, we have one of the not infrequent instances of the dative construed as a genitive, e. g. Ys. **28**.5 *gâtûm ahurâi sevîštâi* 'the throne of most beneficent Ahura'. For numerous other examples see Bartholomae, *A.F.* III.56; Spiegel, *Grammatik,* § 323; Hübschmann, *Zor. Lied,* p. 34. To these add Yt. **10**.89 *zaota ahurâi mazdâi zaota amešanãm speñtanãm,* where dat. and gen. are combined side by side.

hyaṭ hôi vakhšaṭ:
in *hyaṭ* we have *hyaṭ îṭ* as often; *hôi* is *mazdâi;* on the thought cf. Ys. **51**.21; **46**.10. The forms in *vakhš* are transitive and causative; those in *ukhš,* generally intransitive, but see note on str. 7.

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[1] Lit. 'is adherent to, depends upon', **râth-* cf. *râsti* Ys. **53**.9; *yè* refers directly to *māthra,* here masc., cf. Bartholomae, *A.F.* III.51 seq.

7.

yastâ mañtâ pouruyô
raocèbîš rôithwen hvâthrâ
hvô khrathwâ dãmiš ašem
yâ dârayaṭ vahištem manô
tâ mazdâ mainyû ukhšyô
yè â nûrèmcîṭ ahurâ hâmô.

mañtâ . . rôithwen hvâthrâ:
on *hvâthrâ* in general cf. Geldner, *Studien,* I.22; on the inf. *rôithwen,* Bartholomae, *B.B.* XIII.76; *K.Z.* XXIX.329. Here, as in other places, *hvâthrâ* is the realm of Mazda, Heaven. Quite so, later in the Bundahish, I.2 *zak rôšanîh gâh va jînâk î aûharmazd aît mûn asar rôšanô yemalelûnd* 'the light realm is the seat and place of Aûharmazd, which they call 'the endless light'. See further Bundahish, I.25, West, *Pahlavi Texts, S.B.E.* V. pp. 4, 9. It is this realm of heavenly glory, his own elysium of bliss, which Ormazd is besought to extend to earth; see in full the note following on *tâ ukhšyô.*

dârayaṭ vahištem manô:
one of the well defined instances of Vohu Mano being the Good Mind of Ormazd as it shows itself in man. The Pahlavi gloss to str. 6.c, above (cf. to str. 22.c, also) has clearly recognized this fact by saying 'Ormazd's sovereignty in the body of a man lasts so long as His Good Mind (Vohûman) is a guest in his body' *(cand aš vohûmano pavan tanû mâhmâno).* In our verse the law of righteousness is laid down by Mazda as the norm according to which man shall act; thereby the principle of goodness is kept up.

tâ mainyû ukhšyô:
in *ukhšyô* we have improper subjunctive; on the form cf. *fšuyô* Ys. **48**.5; and on *ukhš* str. 6 *vakhšaṭ.* But here,

I believe, as in Ys. 33.10 *ukhšyâ tanûm* the verb must be transitively used.[1] Further, *mainyû* is, with the Pahlavi *pavan mînavadîkîh,* rightly instrumental; but *tâ* is not dual as the Pahlavi would see in it. Far better is it to refer *tâ* (acc. pl. neut.) back to *hvâthrâ* in line (a), considering line (b) simply an intervening amplification—*aša* and *v. m.* being logically inseparable adjuncts of the *hvâthrâ,* elements necessary to the blessed realm; they are each taken up in the next strophe.[2] A deeper meaning lies, then, in *rôithwen hvâthrâ . . . ukhšyô;* the prophet prays that the Realm of Glory clothed with light may not, as it were, be confined to heaven; but that the Unchanging with like activity may extend its bounds, that it may come upon earth, whereby evil will be banished. It is one of the various Gâthâ forms of Thy Kingdom come.

â nûrèmcîṭ:

lit. 'even until now'. From the meaning 'now' of *nûrèm* in all passages, it is only a step to 'now and ever', here implied; all words denoting present time tend to run into the future. In Ys. 62.6, we have in full *nûremca yavaêcatâité* 'now and for ever'.

yè . . . hâmô:

might refer to *mainyû;* but (1) as *yè* more naturally connects itself with *ukhšyô,* and (2) as *mazdâ . . . ahurâ* unite two pâdas, cf. Ys. 30.5; 46.16, etc., as well as (3) on account of Ys. 19.15 *ahurô mazdâ . . . vahištô hâmô,* it seems preferable to consider that *ahî* not *astî* must be supplied. The result of course in the end is either way the same;

[1] Ys. 33.10 *vohû ukhšyâ manaṅhâ khšathrâ ašâcâ uštâ tanûm* 'through Thy Good Mind, Thy Power and Righteousness, mayest Thou make Thyself mighty according to Thy will'; i. e. *tanûm* reflexive as in Skt. Rv. 3.1.1. *agnê tanvàṃ jušasva,* and *uštâ* advbl. loc. as elsewhere.

[2] Instances of such intervening amplification are not hard to find.

the question is merely how far we should personify *mainyû.* Metrically our line is one with the extra syllable, Bartholomae, *A.F.* III. pp. 11, 63.

8.

aṭ thwâ mèñg,hî paourvîm
mazdà yézîm stôi manaṅhâ
vaṅhèuš patarèm manaṅhô
hyaṭ thwâ hèm cašmainî hèñgrabem
haithîm ašahyâ dãmîm
aṅhèuš ahurem šyaothanaêšû.

aṭ thwâ mèñg,hî . . . hyaṭ:
recalls the familiar *speñtem aṭ thwâ . . mèñg,hî . . hyaṭ* of Ys. **43**.5 seqq. The whole strophe, cf. *vaṅhèuš patarèm manaṅhô . . dãmim,* is the logical consequence of the preceding.

paourvîm:
so I take Ys. **29**.10 *thwãm mèṅhi paourvîm,* and in other passages.

stôi:
this word I have taken as inf. after *man,* cf. str. 7, considering it a weak form of *ah* 'to be'; see similar infinitives in *K.*Z. XXVIII.21. In later Avesta we have the infinitive *aṅhô,* cf. Geldner, *K.Z.* XXVIII.407. It might be suggested, though, that *stôi* could be inf. to √*stâ,* stare = esse, as *pôi* from *pâ, vôi* from *vâ* (= *van*).

cašmainî:
'the mind's eye'; here, as well as in Ys. **45**.8 *cašmainî vyâdaresem,* of spiritual vision. Both are locative forms, as below str. 13 *cašmèñg,* and Ys. **50**.10 *cašmãm,* cf. Bartholomae, *Handbuch,* § 214, 215.

ašahyâ dãmîm:
the genitive after *dãmîm* as in Ys. 44.4 *vaŋhèuš dãmiš manaŋhô,* and Ys. 34.10 *dãmîm . . ašahyâ,* interchanging with acc. in str. 7 and Ys. 45.7 *tâ . . dãmiš.*

aŋhèuš ahurem šyaothanaêšû:
these words are not without difficulty, yet I am loath to adopt any other construction than to take them together, quite parallel with *haithîm ašahyâ dãmîm* and with *vaŋhèuš patarèm manaŋhô.* The Pahlavi translator with an admirable gloss gives, I believe, the right idea of them. It renders *dèn ahvâno pavan kûnišno khûḍâî hômanîh [aîgh pavan vanâš va kerfak amâr vakhdûnând]* 'Thou art Lord as to the actions in the world [that is, they shall keep an account as to sin and good works]'. Thus considered, the concluding epithet *aŋhèuš ahurem šyaothanaêšû* brings str. 8 into still closer connection with str. 7 b, and fittingly describes the true greatness of Ahura. As he in the very foundation of all that is right and thereby the source of the good spirit working in man, he can justly be the lord and judge of the good and bad in this life—he may well be worthy of sacrifice. The strophes following are devoted to explaning how Ormazd is lord over the deeds of life. For *aŋhèuš . . šyaothanaêšû,* further, we may revert to the Ahuna Vairya formula *vaŋhèuš dazdâ manaŋhô šyaothananãm aŋhèuš mazdâi* 'the giver to Mazda of the deeds of the Good Mind in life'.

9.

thwôi as âramaitiš
thwè â gèuš tašâ as khratuš
mainyèuš mazdâ ahurâ
hyaṭ aḳyâi dadâ pathãm
vâstryâṭ vâ âitê
yè vâ nôiṭ aŋhaṭ vâstryô.

θwôi . . . θwè:
respectively nom. sing. fem. and masc. of the possessive pronoun; compare in the same way the forms *hvè . . . hvaê-[câ* (masc.—fem.), Ys. **46**.11, Geldner, *B.B.* XIV.4. So Bartholomae, *K.Z.* XXVIII.38; *A.F.* II.171, 173, better than *A.F.* III.28.

ârmaitiš . . . khratuš:
so, not *î* and *û,* Professor Geldner kindly tells me he prefers now in his own edition to read. See the variants also on Ys. **28**.3 *ârmaitiš,* and Ys. **32**.14 *khratûš,* and elsewhere.

â:
compare also Ys. **36**.1 *yè â akhtiš* 'Thou who canst be a plague also (as well as a blessing)'; see likewise Skt. *â,* Grassmann and PWb.

gèuš tašâ . . . khratuš mainyèuš:
in general on Geushtashan, see Bartholomae, *A.F.* III.25 seqq. Here I believe that *gèuš tašâ* must be brought into closest connection with *khratuš mainyèuš,* that Geushtashan is the Wisdom of the Spirit exhibiting itself in creative activity. This will be supported by Ys. **47**.3, the description of the Holy Spirit *(ahyâ mainyèuš)* 'who, bestowing blessings, fashioned for us the joy-giving cow, but for her Armaiti (the earth) as pasture, after he had conferred with Thy Good Spirit, O Mazda'. Again Ormazd's spirit is thought of apart from himself—truly Oriental. The view thus taken above is favored by the Pahlavi rendering of our passage *zak î gôspend î tâšîḍâr khiraḍ* 'that which is the fashioner of cattle, wisdom'.

aḫyâi:
is the same *aḫyâi* as in Ys. **48**.6; it refers not to *ârmaitiš,* but to *gèuš.* The translation 'for her' should be noted. See remarks on *aḫyâi* str. 10.

vâstryâṭ vâ âitê:
construed not as Bartholomae, *A.F.* III.28, but *âitê* from $\sqrt{i} + \hat{a}$, cf. str. 20 etc., and *vâstryâṭ* as ablative of separation; 'to come away from (abl.), leave', i. e. between two things, to leave one is to choose the other. This preserves the ablative as it should be. In str. 20 *âyaṭ ašavanem,* we have the question viewed from the other side, i. e. instead of the abl. from, the accusative of the party to whom one comes over. The same abl. as *vâstryâṭ* is found again in Ys. **46**.5 *ayañtem urvâtôiš . . . mithrôibyô* 'abandoning (lit. coming from) his (evil) faith or companions'. On the full development and relation of thought see the note on the following strophe.

10.

aṭ hî ayå fravaretâ
vâstrîm aḫyâi fšuyañtem
ahurem ašavanem
vaṅhèuš fšèñg¸hîm manaṅhô;
nôiṭ mazdâ avâstryô
davãscinâ humeretôiš bakhštâ.

hî—fravaretâ—aḫyâi—ahurem ašavanem:
these words, as in fact the entire strophe, contain for me, at least, a number of difficulties. That in this strophe, as also in str. 9, the cow and not Armaiti is referred to, there can be little doubt. But the rendering 'she chose for herself the husbandman as a holy master', I cannot believe to be right, for the following reasons. (1) The cow in Ys. **29**, represented at its best by Geushurvan, is pictured as absolutely dependent upon her maker Geushtashan, who with Asha directs her destiny; hence it may be reasonably doubted if the choice was actually given for her herself to make. (2) The above rendering, moreover, utterly disregards *hî,* or wrongly takes it as nom. sing. fem. (Haug,

Gâthâs). (3) The construction of *aḫyâi* as a reflexive with *fravaretâ* is difficult, and gives rise to a strange difference between its use in str. 9 and 10. (4) It is impossible to believe that *ahurem ašavanem* can in the Gâthâs throughout, denote any but the supreme god—see especially Ys. **46**.9 *ahurem ašavanem,* and Ys. **53**.9 *ašavâ ahurô.* Nor further (5) could *ahurem ašavanem* in any way refer to the mere Vâstrya, for in Ys. **29**.2, 6, it is expressly stated the cow has no *ahura, ahu* or *ratu;* her maker has simply destined her for the husbandman. These five reasons should not be disregarded.

Let us first then consider *hî.* It must be dual as in Ys. **30**.3 *hî vahyô akemcâ* 'the two, namely the good and the bad'; likewise also in Ys. **44**.18—see Wackernagel, *K.Z.* XXIV.607—and again Ys. **32**.14 *hî-câ,* Geldner, *K.Z.* XXVIII.263. The Pahlavi, moreover, in every one of these places rightly sees the dual,—rendering in our own passage *hî* by *kolâ* II, and giving *ayå* by *valmanšân anšûtâân.* We must therefore seek a construction for the dual pronoun. It is anticipatory, referring forward to *vâstrîm fšuyañtem* on the one hand, and to *ahurem ašavanem* on the other. Two selections, then, are made; out of the *ayå*, the *fšuyañtem,* and this is practically the same as choosing *ahurem ašavanem.* The force of *ayå* extends only as far as *fšuyañtem;* the choice between the two *ayå* becoming identical with declaring for the faith of Ahura Mazda. This saves the dual and preserves *ahurem* properly.

Next as to *aḫyâi.* For the reasons before given, it seems best to render this in str. 9, 10, 'for her'; the subject of *fravaretâ* is most probably Geushtashan, cf. Ys. **29**.6 *aṯ thwâ . . . thwôreštâ tatašâ;* the cow had no voice in the matter.

The entire thought of str. 9—12 is, then, about as follows. The prophet wishes to show that Ormazd can

rightly bring man to judgment, as he has created him a free agent, allowing him to choose between two faiths. To illustrate this election, therefore, Zoroaster first pictures the somewhat analogous free choice that was given for (not to) the cow. Ormazd's minister Geushtashan, the Wisdom of his own Spirit taking form in creative activity has formed the cow; the earth and its genius are already at hand. The cow is distined for the earth, where exist the husbandman who follows Ahura's faith, and the nomad who maintains the Dregvant's belief. It is not foreordained that the cow shall choose Ormazd's belief, for Ormazd himself has left open for her the way between the two typical representatives of the opposing faiths (str. 9). Her maker (cf. Ys. **29**.6), however, decides for her in favor of the husbandman, this is the same as choosing Ahura *(ašavanem ahurem)* and his faith (cf. Ys. **12**.7)—the non-husbandman of the opposite faith will never be blest (str. 10). Man on the other hand, Ormazd's own creature, must choose alone for himself and be judged accordingly (str. 11—15). The remainder of the hymn is devoted to showing which is the best to choose and who can best direct the choice. Of course Zoroaster knows.[1]

fšèñg,hîm:
is little better than ἅπ. λεγ., as Ys. **49**.9 *fšèñg,hyô* is of small help. Bartholomae, *Handbuch,* § 149, calls attention to Skt. *viçvá]psnyas,* but the form were rather **psańsyô,* as *mèñg,hî, mańsi.* The tradition throughout sees in the word the general idea of 'increasing, promoting', connecting it apparently with *fšuyañt.*

davãscinâ:
cf. Geldner, *Studien* I. p. 44, 45.

[1] The above solution is put forward with diffidence as a suggestion; I can as yet see no other way out of the difficulty.

nôiṭ . . . humeretôiš bakhštâ:
a reflection to introduce str. 11, or contains the ground on which the choice *(fravaretâ)* was made. The tradition would make *humeretôiš* the good tidings of the gospel, in which the nomad should not be allowed to share; but this is improbable as directly opposed to the proselyting spirit of the religion in the Gâthâs. Wordly good name (Ys. 11.3) may be intended in *humeretôiš,* but far better refer it to the good remembrance in the Life Book, from which the *avâstrya* by his own deeds excludes himself—this is fully brought out in the following, particularly str. 14, 15. *humeretôiš* then is the good mark which will be found wanting after his name (str. 14).

bakhštâ:
cf. Bartholomae, *A.F.* II.96; a nomen agentis might perhaps, however, be suggested.

II.

hyaṭ nè mazdâ paourvîm
gaêthåscâ tašô daênåscâ
thwâ manaṅhâ khratûšcâ
hyaṭ astvañtem dadâ uštanem
hyaṭ šyaothanâcâ sèñg,hãscâ
yathrâ varenèñg vasâ dâyétĉ;

hyaṭ:
answers to *athrâ* in str. 12; the two strophes are closely connected.

gaêthåscâ . . . uštanem:
see writer on Ys. 55.1, *A. O. S. Proceedings,* Oct. 1887.

yathrâ:
the familiar use of the adv. as in Skt. equivalent to a declensional case, referring to the preceding nouns.

varenèñg vaså dâyétê:

lit. 'wherein one willing may make his confessions of faith'; *varena* is 'belief, faith, religion', as in Ys. 12.7; 45.1, 2, etc.; and *dâyétê* a general word is purposely chosen, suited to *šyaothanâcâ sèñg,hãscâ,* cf. the uses of Skt. *dhâ.*

Further *vaså* is nom. sing.—cf. *dvaêšå* etc., Ys. 43.8, and Paul Horn, *Avesta Nominalflexion,* p. 36—related to *vasaṅh* 'wish' as Skt. *yáças* 'glory' to *yaçás* 'glorious', or again Avesta *aênaṅh* 'sin', *aênaṅh* 'sinful', etc. For the use of *vaså* 'freely at will, according to choice' cf. Ys. 46.5; 43.10 *khšayãs;* Yt. 5.87 *khšayamna,* etc., and ἑκών, Lat. *volens, libens, potens.*

On the importance of the doctrine embodied in *vaså* and str. 12, see Geldner, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* s. v. Zoroaster, shortly to appear. Man, Ormazd's creature, is a free agent; his maker has created his being, endowed him with reason, then given him the opportunity to carve his future fate, he may choose the faith of the righteous or the wicked between whom he is placed. There is no foreordination, but his creator will be the lord to judge *(aṅhèuš ahurem šyaothanaêšû).* This clears up all the following verses.

12.

athrâ vâcem baraitî
mithah,vacå vâ erešvacå vâ
vîdvå vâ evîdvå vâ
ahyâ zeredâcâ manaṅhâcâ;
ânuš-hâkhš ârmaitiš
mainyû peresaitê yathrâ maêthâ.

vîdvå . . . evîdvå:

these words correspond frequently in the Gâthâs to the Biblical use of 'folly and ignorance' for sin and unbelief; 'wisdom and prudence' for righteousness. Cf. str. 17; Mills, ad loc. well with 'enlightened and unenlightened'.

ahyâ:
see Bartholomae, *K.Z.* XXVIII.40.

ânuš-hakhš:
adj. corresponding precisely to Skt. *ânušák* neut. advbl. from *sac* + *anu,* and showing the same initial lengthening.

ârmaitiš . . . peresaitê:
read thus, not *armaitîš;* cf. the good Mss. In *peresaitê* we have exactly the same use of *peres* as in Yt. **14**.47 *âca paraca peresaité* (**F1. Jm4. K16**) 'makes inquiry here and there'; cf. below.—A new thought: Armaiti whose abode is oftenest on earth goes about with Ormazd's Spirit, seeking the actions of the world, good or evil according as men follow false or true teachers. All are seen and recorded in the book of life. Hence it is that Armaiti is able to play so important a role in aiding at the final dispensation, the Vîdâiti; distributing with Vohu Mano the allotments in accordance with works; or again that the Spirit joins with Fire and Asha (see str. 3 above) in bestowing rewards. A picture precisely parallel to this seach among men by the ministers of Ormazd, is found in the later Avesta, Yt. **14**.47 just quoted—the description of Verethraghna going about with Mithra and Rashnu (the ministers who in the later Avesta keep the records), between the contending hosts, and seeking out *(peresaité)* the man who has ever sinned.

yathrâ maêthâ:
cf. Ys. **30**.9, and **33**.9; **34**.6; *maêtha* is 'false, erroneous, wrong'. Here *maêthâ* is rather general; the Ashavan had his little errors, but those of the Dregvant were so overwhelming that for him (unless he forsook his belief str. 20) there was no hope of Paradise (str. 10).

13.

yâ frasâ âvîšyâ
yâ vâ mazdâ peresâitê tayâ
yè vâ kasèuš aênaŋhô
â mazištãm ayamaitê bûjem
tâ cašmèñg thwisrâ hârô
aibî ašâ aibî vaênahî vîspâ.

frasâ:
instr. fem. from *ferasâ-*, cf. Ys. **43**.7 *ferasayâi*, **44**.13 *frasayâ* (Bartholomae, *A.F.* II. 176; III. 41), and *ferasâbyô* Ys. **29**.5. The feminines in *â* form the instrumental thus; cf. Yt. **21**.4 *daêna*, Ys. **51**.21 *daênâ*, Geldner, *Studien* I. p. 129, Lanman, *Noun-Inflection in the Veda, J. A. O. S.* X. p. 357; Bartholomae, *Handbuch* § 241. The only instance of fem. instr. *-ayâ* I have been able to find in the Gâthâs in *sâsnayâ* Ys. **29**.7; for the form *daênayâ* Ys. **51**.19, Professor Geldner now prefers to read *daênayâi* with **K5**; the form *vyânayâ* is otherwise explainable. The question as to *frasèm* Ys. **43**.9 does not come here into consideration. The fact that in Avesta, so many forms are identical, and not kept apart as in Sanskrit, adds countless difficulties in interpretation. As for the sense of this entire verse, it may be added that I have won much the same meaning as de Harlez.

peresâitê:
corresponds in subject and meaning, precisely with the preceding *peresaitê*.

ayamaitê:
'seeks for himself, takes upon himself'. On *yam* + *â* with *yâs* and *yas*, Skt. *yach*, *yam* see Geldner, *K.Z.* XXIV. 129 seqq; Bartholomae, *B.B.* X.279. Hence the signification, which is clear.

bûjem:
from *bûj, buj,* with the original signification 'solvere', as in *aiwyåŋhanem bûjayamnô, ãzôbûj, baokhtar* etc. The thought contained in *yè kasèuš . . . bûjem* is a noble one; not faults alone are observed, but each attempt to atone for faults and to better the account in the record hereafter, is duly noticed. Man submits himself to absolution not in vain.

cašmèñg:
cf. note on *cašmainî* str. 8.

thwisra:
rightly connected with Skt. *tviš,* Fick, *Vergl. Wörterbuch* I. p. 336, Justi, etc. So also *kusra,* and *pisra* (if from *piš*); this law of sound-change, *š* into *s* before *r* (cf. *fseratu*), is the same as in Sanskrit, cf. *usra, tamisra,* Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* § 181 a. An exception violating the law is found in the numeral *thri,* in a late passage Vsp. 13.3 *tišranãm,* in the gloss Vd. 7.54 *tišrãm,* in Vsp. 13.3 *tišrô* and the same form as variant to *tišarô* Vd. 2.30; 4.11; 17.6. The unifying tendency may from the latter form have produced the violation.

14.

tà thwà peresà ahurâ
yå zî âitî jèñg,haticâ
yå išudô dadeñtè
dàthranãm hacâ ašàunô
yåscâ mazdà dregvôdebyô
yathâ tå aŋhen hèñkeretà hyaṭ.

âitî jèñg,haticâ:
these words and the whole spirit of the strophe recall str. 5 —the reward hereafter.

išudô:

see Spiegel, *Commentar* II. p. 247, and especially *Übersetzung* II. p. 123 note 6, Justi, and also Ludwig, *Rig Veda,* Bd. IV. p. 191—in all which cases the right idea of this word is noted but not carried out. The tradition *âvâm,* 'debt' etc., Haug, *Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary* p. 81, Neriosengh *ṛṇam,* is quite correct; *išud* is 'debt, claim, what is due one and can be demanded from another, debit opposed to credit'. Thus Ys. **34**.15 *tâ tû vohû manaṅhâ ašâcâ išudem stûtô* 'therefore do Thou with Thy Good Mind and Righteousness tell me *(vaocâ)* my indebtedness to you in praise', or (objectively) 'your claim on me for praise'—cf. *kaṭ vâ stûtô..yasnahyâ* in **34**.12 just preceding. Again on the other hand, in Ys. **65**.9 we have *išudô* viewed from the stand point directly opposite to the position in our own passage. There, Ys. **65**.9, *išudô*—see the Pahlavi, Spiegel, *Commentar* II. p. 454 seq.—refers to the debt to be incurred on the part of the gods, the claim made on them by men in return for righteous works. The two ideas of *išud* ever passing into each other according as viewed subjectively or objectively.[1]

The real force of *išudô* and *dâthranăm* in the present strophe is clearly outlined by Geldner, *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* article Zoroaster; it remains only to elaborate it. The terms are technical, drawn from dealings in life and they contain quite the idea of a bargain—the relation between gods and men being an absolutely reciprocal one. For every good deed, man can claim something from the gods; but for every evil act, the gods have a claim on man. All the daily actions are entered as items, *dâthrâ,* in the life book (see note below), as debit and credit, and only by increasing the credit side of the record can the

[1] Perhaps, however, even in Ys. **65**.9 *išudô* may be considered as the claim of the gods on men for sacrifices. The result in either case is the same.

debita be counterbalanced. At the Cinvat Bridge after death the account is balanced *(hènkeretâ),* and if there be an excess of good deeds, as with the *ašavan,* we may see that he entered into joy—cf. Ys. **46**.10, 15—17 et passim, and Geldner, s. v. *âkå, K.Z.* XXVII.577. If, however, owing to bad deeds (Ys. **49**.11; **46**.11; **31**.20 etc.),[1] the *išudô* predominated, the result was reversed. The latter was the case with the *dregvañt,* since first and foremost he had not the right belief to put to his credit; all such became veritable subjects in the abode of the Druj *(drûjô demânê haithyâ astayô).* The whole system is thus simple, clear and logical, and explains what we find later fully developed in the Hamèstagân; when the *dâthrâ* items, debit *išudô* and credit, about balanced, there was appointed an intermediate place till final judgment should be made. The entire idea of the good and bad records set opposed to each other and summed up *(hèñkeretâ)* is quite Persian; Herodotus I.137, tells us that not even a king was allowed to put to death or otherwise punish a man until his good and evil deeds had been set off against each other and he had been found wanting in the balance. The whole view of the above question is precisely what we have in Ys. **33**.1.[2] In our passage the appeal is made to know how the audit will stand.

dâthranãm:

as is shown by Vd. **19**.27, *dâthrâ* are the entries good or bad, debit and credit, which a man by his actions in this world sets down (cf. *dâ*) in the book of life—cf. Vd. **19**.27

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[1] Perhaps the same idea lies in Ys. **49**.4, but the passage is not yet clear.

[2] See Roth, *Z.D.M.G.* XXXVII.5, 223; Bartholomae, *A.F.* III.61 seq. note; Mills *S.B.E.* XXXI. p. 72 note 3. For passages in the Pahlavi and later literature, cf. Maînôg-î Khirad, **2**.115 seqq.; Sad Dar **1**.4; **4**.13; **18**.6; **18**.15; **36**.5; **58**.5; West, *S.B.E.* XXIV. p. 18, 258 seqq.

mašyô astvaiti aṅhvô havâi uruné paradaithyâṭ. See also the Pahlavi gloss to *aṅhèuš ahurem šyaothanaêšû* str. 8, already mentioned as describing 'this account as to sin and good works' *pavan vanâs va kerfak amâr*—which is our *dâthrâ.* Upon the judgment of these records in part, see note on *rânôibyâ* str. 3 above, and for references to the Life Book compare the writer on Ys. **55**.4 *A. O. S. Proceedings,* Oct. 1887. See further, note on *hèñkeretâ.* The genitive construction of *dâthranãm* with *išudô* is plain.

hacâ:
governing the ablative here must be construed with *ašâunô* and *dregvôdebyô,* and is to be connected back with *išudô,* lit. 'claims (debita) . . . from the righteous'. The proper construction thus of *hacâ* is one of the keys to the interpretation of the verse. As to its prepositive position here, compare Ys. **47**.1 *hacâ ašâṭ.* In the Gâthâs, *hacâ* is placed as follows, (1) postpositive and enclitic,—the general rule; but (2) it may be also prepositive, before an enclitic Ys. **44**.17 *hacâ khšmaṭ;* or (3) as in our passage and Ys. **47**.1 it may stand before an accented form.

tå:
refers to *išudô.*

hèñkeretâ:
participle, sc. *aṅhen,* and agrees with *dâthrâ* understood. The right conception of the word is given by Geldner, *K.Z.* XXVII.239, and is clear here. Nor let any one who is familiar with the thoughts of the past, the state of the civilization and the times when the religion was founded, say that the ideas here given of the strophe are modern. In translating and paraphrasing, therefore, I have chosen technical renderings to carry out more fully the picture and spirit of the passage.

15.

peresâ avaṭ yâ maêniš
yè dregvâitê khšathrem hunâitî
duš-šyaothanâi ahurâ
yè nôiṭ jyôtûm hanare vînastî
vâstryéhyâ aênaṅhô
pasčuš vîrâaṭcâ adrujyañtô.

maêniš:
reading thus, not *mainiš;* see Geldner in Böhtlingk's *Jubiläums-Schrift,* Feb. 3, 1888—where he connects it with Skt. *mêní.* Thus *maêniš* is 'wrath, punishment', cf. the wrath of God, divine punishment. Likewise in Ys. **44**.19. So the Pahlavi.

dregvâitê khšathrem hunâitî:
on *khšathrem hunâitî* compare Ys. **35**.5 *khšathrem . . . hvãnmahicâ,* and for the power of the Dregvant see Ys. **49**.11 *dušekhšathrèñg . . . dregvatô* et passim. In the dualistic view, every gain to the power of the wicked was attended by a corresponding loss to the Ashavan and Mazda, hence the *išud* resulting from such a sin would be great.

duš-šyaothanâi:
the Mss. are about evenly divided between *duš-šyaothanâi* and *-âiš;* on internal evidence the former as adjective is the better reading, cf. Ys. **49**.11 *aṭ dušekhšathrčñg duš -šyaothančñg duzhvacaṅhô | duzhdaênčñg duš-manaṅhô dregvatô;* the same also of Yt. **22**.36. In the other two instances, Ys. **34**.9; **65**.7, likewise, I consider *duš-šyaothana* not substantive but adjective, with the same attributive force as here. So also its polar *hu-šyaothana* is always adjective.

vînastî:
cf. Bartholomae, *B.B.* X.270; XIII.74, 78.

hanare . . . vîrâaṭcâ:
an instance of attraction quite like the Vedic, as Bartholomae, *K.Z.* XXVIII.23. Compare his illustrations.

16.

peresâ avaṭ yathâ hvô
yè hudânuš demanahyâ khšathrem
šôithrahyâ vâ daḫyèuš vâ
ašâ fradathâi asperezatâ
thwâvăs mazdâ ahurâ
yadâ hvô aṅhaṭ yâ-šyaothanascâ.

peresâ avaṭ . . .:
this strophe connects itself with the preceding and introduces the new line of thought—by what acts and when can the righteous who strives to advance his people, become one like Ormazd himself? It is by hearing the true prophet.

demanahyâ:
on Mss. authority thus *a* not *â* the better reading. See also Hübschmann, *K.Z.* XXIV.331—332, upon the interchange of *a* and *â* in the same word. This is particularly the case when *ca* etc. are suffixed, or the word otherwise grows by increment. Similarly also Yt. 10.82 *âbyô dôithrâbyô aiwyasca yaokhštibyô* 'with these eyes and these senses' —the best codices reading thus. The present instances may be added with others to those given by Hübschmann.

šôithrahyâ:
here as in str. 18 and Ys. 46.4, *šôithra* takes the place of *zañtu* which is not found in the Gâthâs; cf. also Geiger, *Ostîrânische Kultur,* p. 429 (= *Civilization of Eastern Iranians;* translation by Peshotan Sanjânâ, Vol. II. p. 6).

17.

katârèm ašavâ vâ
dregvå vâ verenvaitê mazyô
vîdvå vîdušê mraotû;
mâ evîdvå aipî-dèbâvayaṭ;
zdî nè mazdâ ahurâ
vaṅhèuš fradakhštâ manaṅhô.

katârèm . . . verenvaitê:
lit. 'which of the two (faiths as) the greater does the righteous or the wicked believe'; cf. double questions with Lat. utrum, Gk. πότερον. On *verenvaitê,* see Bartholomae, *K.Z.* XXIX.285.

vîdvå . . . aipî-dèbâvayaṭ:
recalls again str. 12. On *aipî-dèbâvayaṭ* cf. Bartholomae, *K.Z.* XXVIII.45; *B.B.* XIII.61; the word is also discussed by Bezzenberger in his *Beiträge,* III.169 seq., and by Geldner, *K.Z.* XXVIII.200 note.

18.

mâ ciš aṭ vè dregvatô
mãthrãscâ gûštâ sâsnåscâ
àzî demânem vîsem vâ
šôithrem và daḳyûm vâ âdâṭ
dušitâcâ marakaêcâ;
athâ îš sâzdûm snaithišâ.

demânem . . . âdâṭ . . marakaêcâ:
strongly antithetic to str. 17 *demanahyâ . . . fradathâi.*

dušitâ:
connected not with Skt. *dúriti,* but with Skt. **duḳšiti,* as Avesta *hušiti,* Skt. *sukšiti.*

athâ . . snaithišâ:
best as parenthetic clause; the antithesis to the strophe coming first in str. 19 *gûštâ.*

19.

gûštâ yè mañtâ ašem
ahûmbiš vîdvå ahurâ
erezhukhdhâi vacaṅhãm
khšayamnô hizvô vasô
thwâ âthrâ sukhrâ mazdâ
vaṅhâu vîdâtâ rãnayå.

mañtâ ašem:
as in Ys. 34.8 *yôi nôiṭ ašem mainyañtâ aêibyô dûirê vohû as manô* 'from those who have not conceived righteousness, far is the Good Mind away'.

ahûmbiš:
see Geldner, *K.Z.* XXVIII.205 seqq.; Bartholomae, *B.B.* XIII.88.

ahurâ:
owing to *mazdâ* following, the word should be take as voc., an appeal with uplifted eye for verification of *vîdvå* etc.; almost like 'God knows'.

erezhukhdhâi vacaṅhâm khšayamnô:
here the gen. *vacaṅhãm* as usual after *khšayamnô,* and *erezhukhdhâi* as infinitive. The construction is precisely parallel with that of Ys. 44.15 *ahyâ . . pôi . . khšayéhî,* lit. 'whether Thou with Thy Righteousness hast power over him, so as to ward him off from me'. In signification, moreover, *erezhukhdhâi,* here abstract, is not merely 'what is spoken truly', in the present, but also in the future, what will be proved to be spoken truly; or (actively) keeping one's word, fulfilling it so that it will be truly spoken.

Compare for analogy Skt. *satya* in *satyásaṃkalpa* 'whose will or wish is true i. e. comes to fulfillment', *satyâçis* 'whose prayer will come true', *satyasaṃgara* etc. Similarly Ys. **48**.9 *ereš môi erezhûcãm vaŋhèuš vafuš manaŋhô* 'fulfil for me the word of Thy Good Mind'.—As to who the true prophet is that will save his people at the final judgment and whose promises will be verified, it is as often not difficult to decide—see Ys. **46**.15—17.

khšayamnô . . vasô:
the frequent combination, cf. Ys. **32**.15 *khšayamnèñg vasô*, etc.

sukhrâ:
special epithet, in the Avesta, of the fire. Originally, 'bright, burning'; in the Iranian languages 'red'; in Skt. 'clear, light, white'. Conversely, Skt. *arušá* 'red'; Avesta, etc. *auruša* 'white'. The two fold development of *çukra* in Skt. and Av. from the more primitive meaning 'burning, bright' is worth noticing.

âthrâ . . . vîdâtâ rãnayå:
cf. Ys. **51**.9 *rânoibyâ thwâ âthrâ sukhrâ mazdâ;* and on the Fire, the Vîdâiti, and the two Rânas, cf. str. 3 above. In addition to the passages there mentioned, the Fire also appears at the Distribution (Vîdâiti) in Ys. **43**.4, where again by its aid Mazda makes his allotments to the evil and the just.

vaŋhâu:
see Geldner, *B.B.* XIII.17, on Ys. **46**.7.

rãnayå:
subjective genitive, almost agency.

20.

yè âyaṭ ašavanem
divamnem hôi aparem khšyô

daregèm âyu temaṅhô
dušhvarethèm avaêtâs vacô
tèm vå ahûm dregvañtô
šyaothanâiš hvâiš daênâ naêšaṭ.

âyaṭ ašavanem:
see note on str. 9 *âitê* and the quotation from Ys. **46**.5 *ayañtem* for this use of *âyaṭ* 'comes over to the Ashavan party'. The sing. *ašavanen,* as in other instances, is used in the general sense; so likewise *dregvañt* to represent the class. On the construction, further, of *âyaṭ ašavanem* compare Ys. **46**.6 *aṭ yastèm . . . âyâṭ,* and *vîspèñg âyôi* str. 2 above.

divamnem:
lit. 'removed afar'. On the roots in *û* and *îv (iv)* see *K.Z.* XXVII.230 seqq.; but *divamnem* is better now taken with Geldner, *B.B.* XIV.13 from Skt. 2 **dû* or **du* 'remove' cf. *dûrá, dávîyas,* cf. also Grassmann Wb. By this we win an admirable sense for the whole passage, which is thus in keeping with the proselyting spirit of Zoroaster's religion.

khšyô:
is genitive, as Professor Roth has said; but it is better construed as dependent on *daregèm âyû* and parallel with *temaṅhô.* The Pahlavi *šîvan* 'lamentation, wailing, mourning'—West and Haug, *Glossary* p. 192—has about the right sense of the word, but must not be followed too closely—cf. Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes* II.169.

dušhvarethèm:
for the allusion it is only necessary to compare Darmesteter, *Haurvatâṭ et Ameretâṭ,* pp. 9, 10; *Ormazd et Ahriman,* p. 314; Geiger, *Ostîrânische Kultur,* pp. 278 seq. (= Peshotan Sanjânâ's English translation, Vol. I. p. 101 seqq.).

avaêtâs vacô:
lit. 'woe of speech'. *avaêtâs* is nom. sing. from *avaêtâṭ* abstract as *uštatâṭ,* and derived from *avôi* (Ys. **45**.3) as *yavaêtaṭ* (Ys. **28**.11) from *yavôi* (Ys. **49**.8, etc.).

vå:
so also Professor Geldner himself would prefer, here and in Vd. **5**.62, to read. Similarly the Pahlavi *lekûm* in both places.

daênâ:
the conscience (thought of as separate from soul and body) goes on before to the Cinvat Bridge—see Ys. **46**.11; **51**.13, and Yt. **22**.9 seqq.; cf. also the description in the Pahlavi books, Arḍâ Vîrâf, **17**.12 seqq.; Maînôg-î Khiraḍ, **2**.123 seqq.; **2**.167 seqq.; West, *Pahlavi Texts, S.B.E.* XXIV. p. 18 seqq. For *daêna* also cf. str. 11 above.

21.

mazdå dadâṭ ahurô
haurvatatô ameretâtascâ
bûrôiš â ašaḫyâcâ
hvâpaithyâṭ khšathrahyâ sarô
vaŋhèuš vazdvarè manaŋhô
yè hôi mainyû šyaothanâišcâ urvathô.

bûrôiš â . . hvâpaithyâṭ:
these words should undoubtedly, I think, be taken together. As to the position of *â,* cf. Ys. **33**.6 *mainyèuš â vahištâṭ* 'from the Best Mind'; Ys. **45**.9 *haozãthwâṭ â* 'from His Good Mind's goodly fellowship with Righteousness'; Ys. **44**.1; **45**.8 *nemaŋhô â.* It seems best to take *bûrôiš* as substantive; the other two passages where it occurs are not yet clear.

ašaḫyâcâ . . khšathrahyâ:
as elsewhere, *câ* with the first only of the two connected words.

sarô:

parallel in construction with *vazdvarè,* and is acc. plur. fem.; from it depend the genitives *haurvatatô . . . khšathrahyâ* as in Ys. 49.8 *ašahyâ . . sarèm.* The force of the plural lies in the different abstractions enumerated. The declension of *sar* in Gâthâ dialect will now be: acc. *sarem, sarèm* (Ys. 53.3; 49.8,9, cf. Ys. 7.25; 41.6); dat. *sarôi* (Ys. 44.17); gen. *sarè* (Ys. 49.3); loc. *sairî* (Ys. 35.8); acc. plur. *sarô* (Ys. 31.21).—On the thought compare Ys. 41.6 = Ys. 7.25; cf. 40.2, *upâ-jamyâmâ tavacâ sarem* (*hakhemâ,* Ys. 40.2) *ašaḫyâcâ vîspâi yavê* 'that we may come into the goodly company of Thyself and Righteousness for ever and ever'. Such too is the prayer here for the faithful *(urvathô).*

vazdvarè:

Haug, *Gâthâs,* I. p. 153, has given about the right idea of the word; the etymology remains to be found.

urvathô:

again, I believe, derivative from √*var* 'faithful, true, friend, friendly'.

22.

cithrâ î hudâṅhê
yathanâ vaêdemnâi manaṅhâ
vohû hvô khšathrâ ašem
vacaṅhâ šyaothanâcâ haptî
hvô tôi mazdâ ahurâ
vâzištô aṅhaitî astiš.

vaêdemnâi:

cf. Geldner, *B.B.* XIV.8.

vohû:

this I have preferred connecting with *khšathrâ,* as elsewhere in the Gâthâs, and considering *vohû—khšathrâ* an

associative instrumental as often. Other constructions of the words, however, are possible.

vacaṅhâ šyaothanâcâ:
two only of the usual trio, *manaṅhâ* being omitted; so likewise in str. 21 *mainyû šyaothanâišcâ;* similarly also Ys. **34**.15 *sravâscâ šyaothanâcâ;* again Ys. **45**.8; **34**.2.

ašem . . . haptî:
recalls the resemblance of form in Rig Veda √*sap* connected with *ṛtá,* cf. also the adj. *ṛtasáp.*

vâzištô:
with the Pahlavi rendering of *vâzištô* by *bûrḍâr* 'bearer, supporter, upholder, promoter', we may connect also Ys. **46**.4 *ašahyâ vazhdrèñg* 'bearers, promoters of the law of Righteousness'. So in the other passages where *vâzištô* as epithet occurs.

vâzištô . . . astiš:
an instance of the catalectic line.

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In preparation:

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AVESTA READER

CONTAINING AN OUTLINE OF THE GRAMMAR,

TEXTS, BRIEF NOTES, AND VOCABULARY

BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.